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## The submerged nine-tenth

By Kenneth O. Morgan

HERBERT G. GUTMAN:  
*Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History.*  
343pp. Oxford: Blackwell. £10.50.

Labour history has not usually been a particularly flourishing area of historical studies in the United States. American historians, so tireless and prolific in dissecting their national past in its political, economic, ethnic, religious and intellectual aspects, have been relatively difficult in existing transatlantic working-class experience, organization, belief and behaviour. Of the thirteen omniscient volumes discussed in that attractive volume, *Past Masters*, edited by Marcus Cunliffe and Robert Wiebe, none, in a way ranging from Francis Parkman to Vann Woodward, had more than a marginal interest in industrial labour. Of course, political pressures may have helped to suppress inquiry into this field, notably during the Red scare, era of McCarthyism. More important, American historians have tended to work within a traditional context and to act as celebrants of their national consensus. They have found conceptual (and perhaps emotional) difficulty in accepting that class tensions and conflicts, resulting from the growth of industrialization, have been a major facet of the evolution of modern America.

In addition, there is the undeniable fact that trying to isolate an American working class presents many difficulties for the historian. Unlike European workers, American working men found it hard to embrace the idea of class solidarity; they responded to wage consciousness rather than class consciousness. Products of an ethos that saw the worker as essentially an independent artisan producing rather than a member of a wage-earning class, and which idealized the social mobility and freedom that supposedly resulted from the westward push of the frontier, they found it hard to relate to the class antagonisms and tensions of the European scene. British visitors had the same problem. Politicians like Keir Hardie and Ramsay MacDonald saw at first-hand how different the American worker responded to industrial pressures, compared with his British counterpart—and how relatively little impact socialism or the idea of a Labour Party made there, for all the vaunted crusading of Gino Debs. American industrial workers too often tended to articulate social protest in terms of rural origin. It was the gold standard, not capitalism, that pressed down upon the brow of labour in the crown of thorns, according to William Jennings Bryan. When Debs polled his largest vote as socialist candidate for the presidency in 1912, his highest proportion of the poll came not in the great cities of the north and east, but in rural Oklahoma. In addition, of course, massive waves of immigration, especially from largely peasant societies in southern and eastern Europe in the late nineteenth century, followed by the internal migration of black and Spanish-American workers in the twentieth century, added particular complexity to American labour as a theme for historical inquiry.

But this generalization no longer holds good. For this, much credit must go to Herbert G. Gutman, whose articles and books have generated challenging and exciting theses for debate over the past two decades. His *Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America* is not, perhaps, the best of introductions to his work. It lacks the impact of his recent survey of the black family or his demolition of

the Fogel-Eugenia myth in *Time on the Cross*. It is a study of the career of Richard Davis, a black mine-worker who won election to the executive of the United Mine Workers in the early 1890s, enables us to focus on the relationship between black and white workers in the post-reconstruction period, a theme usually misleadingly approached (or rather evaded) by extrapolations from national politics, race relations or rhetoric. In the shadow of Booker T. Washington and his exclusion of black acquiescence, men for all its inadequacies, Gutman's book is a genuine black working-class presence with an important impact on the programmes and the most creative public ideologies of the labour unions. The historical minds present in life between 1880 and 1914 in America. Indeed, it is seldom before, again, even been burdened with a detailed study of the origins of the black working-class in the United States. Gutman's book is a masterpiece of being on the spot and iron manufacturers in New Jersey, often mislabeled as a study of the black working-class. Gutman's book is a masterpiece of being on the spot and iron manufacturers in New Jersey, often mislabeled as a study of the black working-class.

In addition to E. P. Thompson, Eric Hobsbawm, Sidney Pollard, George Woodcock, and three others, Gutman's book is a masterpiece of being on the spot and iron manufacturers in New Jersey, often mislabeled as a study of the black working-class. Gutman's book is a masterpiece of being on the spot and iron manufacturers in New Jersey, often mislabeled as a study of the black working-class.

The essays contained in this book are full of life. In this essay Gutman stresses the cultural continuities in industrializing America. In the most interesting study of all he emphasizes the religious continuities. An essay on Protestantism and the American labour movement approaches the response of Christianity to the coming of industrialization and

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## Leaves

Leaves are plentiful, on the ground, under the feet. They cannot be too many, they lie below; they rot, they blow about before they are rotted. Were they ever affixed to trees? I do not know.

The great connection is from the leaf to the root, from branch, from tendril to the low place below the ground, below the hope of the foot. The hand stretched out, or the hidden face.

On all occasions, or most, remember this: turn on yourself like a small whirlwind of leaves.

C. H. Sisson

## Ethnocidal tendencies

By Francis Lambert

JOHN HEMMING:  
*Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians.*  
677pp. Macmillan. £9.95.

All readers of Latin American history are already indebted to John Hemming for his *Conquest of the Incas*. In *Red Gold* he has given us the first half of a study of the Brazilian Indians, ending in 1755 with the abolition of the Jesuit missions and the (theoretical) emancipation of the Amerindian tribes.

As with most European conquests with exotic peoples, it is a sad but familiar story of good intentions breaking down when put into practice. At first the Portuguese were fascinated by the innocent nakedness of the Amerindians; several of them, including the patriarch Carmo, were absorbed into native society and willing to trade peacefully for the Brazil wood which gave the country its name. But from the 1540s, the arrival of settlers demanding land and labour meant the destruction of Indian society. Mr Hemming is naturally enough committed to the Indians, but he is too good a historian to ignore the weaknesses that contributed to their ruin. Amerindian tribes were constantly at war with each other, and the Portuguese could have accomplished nothing without allies; cannibalism was largely restricted to the coast, but it gave the more unscrupulous Portuguese an excuse for conquest of which they took full

advantage. It is also true that disease, rather than cruelty, was the main reason for the fall in the Indian population from around 2 million to 300,000.

But the fact remains that the Portuguese record was dismal; their impact on the non-Europeans was as fatal as that of the allegedly more civilised northern Europeans and Spaniards. The pioneers were courageous and incredibly enduring, and modern Brazil is the permanent memorial to their endurance. But in the process Amerindian society and culture were utterly destroyed. Mr Hemming is right to emphasize that some of the Indians fought hard; the Alimoro held out for a century in Espirito Santo, and in the interior the Guacuru took to the horse like the North American plains Indians and survived to fight for Brazil against Paraguay in the 1860s. Elsewhere, however, the *bandeirantes*, the pioneer slave hunters from São Paulo, had reduced the Indian population of the coast to insignificance by 1750. Their counterparts are doing the same thing in Amazonia today.

The only force which really protected the Indians was the Catholic Church. Mr Hemming points out the ambiguity of the Jesuits, the Portuguese on African society (where the mulattoes seem to have inherited the position of the departing Amerindians) or on the policies of the Jesuits towards their Asian converts. The portrait of Antonio Vieira could be filled out by more material on his career in Portugal. Mr Hemming also tends to see the Amerindians as noble savages, although he has too much knowledge of them to leave out the other side of the story.

## In Indian files

By David Brading

ARTHUR J. O. ANDERSON, FRANCES BERDAN and JAMES LOCKHART (Editors):  
*Beyond the Codices: The Nahua View of Colonial Mexico.*  
235pp. University of California Press. £11.60.

The Spanish Conquest not only marked a caesura in the actual past of Mexico, it continues to delineate the way in which Mexican history is studied. Whereas ancient Anahuac is the intellectual province of archaeologists, social anthropologists and experts in Nahua and Indian pictographs, colonial Mexico has been the domain of historians who have

rarely troubled themselves to learn an Indian language. Only recently have they emerged, the new discipline of ethnohistory which seeks to end this harmful and absurd division of academic labour.

*Beyond the Codices* is a collection of Nahua texts with English translations. It is in no way to detract from the labours of Arthur J. O. Anderson (a leading expert on Nahua literature) and Frances Berdan, to surmise that the inspiration of the book came from James Lockhart, who in his studies on Spanish Peru pushed far beyond the Conquest chronicles to mine a rich vein of original data located in the native archives. Now, on turning to Mexico, he has boldly embarked on Nahua and has consequently discovered that within little more than a generation after the Conquest the Indian nobility and the Indian commoners they dominated began to frame and compile a range of

administrative and legal documents in Nahua comparable in form, if not in scale, to those preserved by their Spanish counterparts.

As a forerunner of what will become a rich harvest for the historian, the present collection includes wills, inventories of estates, sales of land, donations of the church, market taxes, the prices of goods expressed in cacao beans, petitions to the crown and even private letters. Of particular interest is the list of lands, revenues and labour services which supported the Indian Governor of Coahuila, an assortment of perquisites remarkably similar to those enjoyed by leading *kunakas* of Chucuito in Peru. In short, the editors, and in particular Professor Lockhart, are to be applauded for their collaboration in what can only be described as a major breakthrough in our knowledge of sixteenth-century Mexico.

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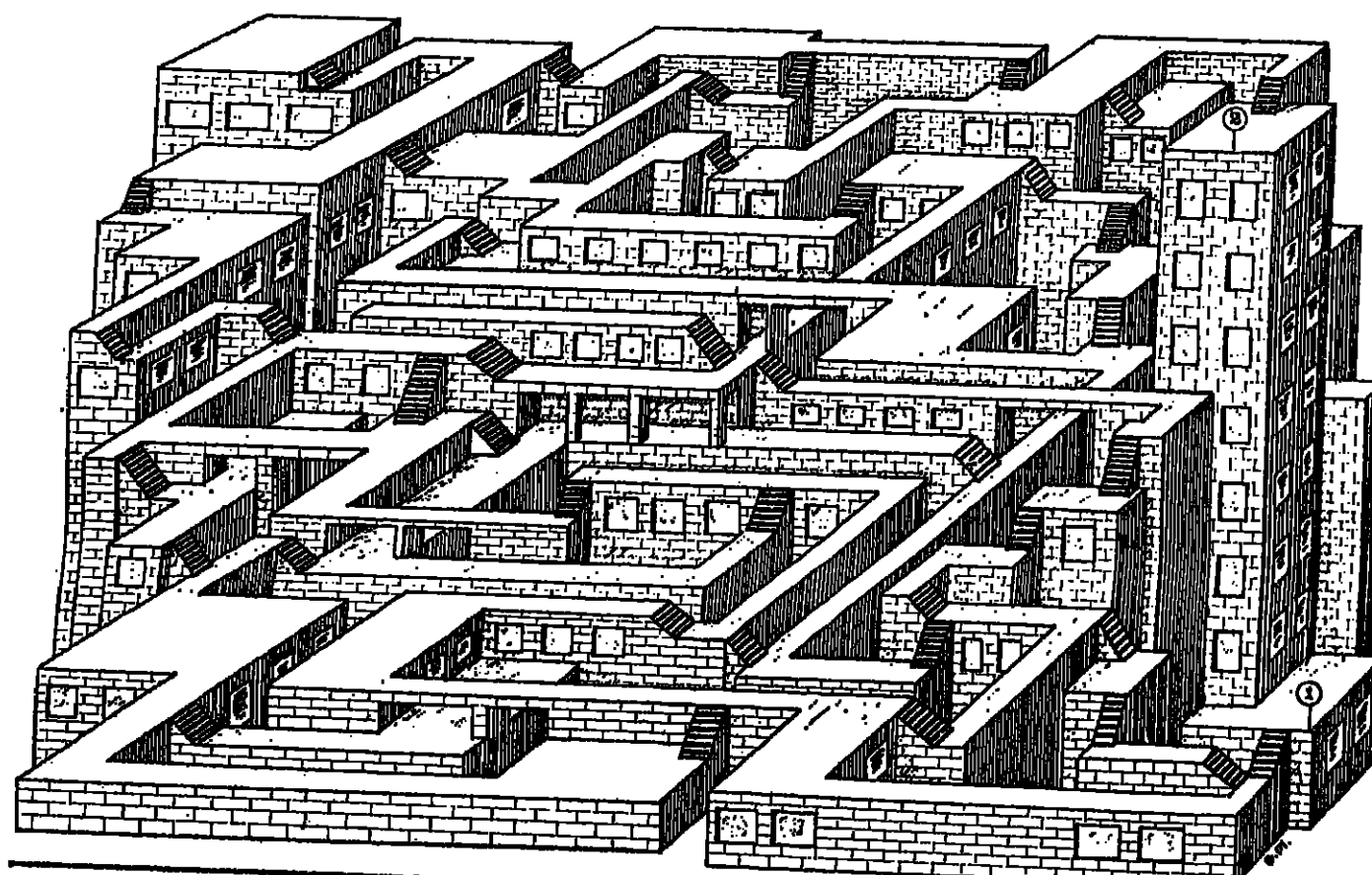
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# Black days in the White House

By Charles Wheeler

**H. R. HALDEMAN**  
*The Ends of Power*  
347pp. Sidgwick and Jackson. £6.95.  
**DAVID FROST**  
*I Gave Them a Sword*  
320pp. Macmillan. £5.95.

Herby Robbins Haldeaman, now serving a prison term for perjury, conspiracy and obstruction of justice, is the first of ex-President Nixon's senior aides to publish his account of Watergate. As Chief of Staff and guardian of the Oval Office from January 1969 until his master forced him to resign in May 1973, Haldeaman was said to be the only man who knows 90 per cent of what happened at Watergate. Haldeaman denies this: the purpose of his book is to show that Nixon knew a great deal more than he did.

Haldeaman is not the unquestioning loyalist he used to be. He dwells heavily on Nixon's dark side: the coldly calculating, crafty, devious, vindictive side—and reproves himself for "never having taken on Nixon, at least, some of the time".

Instead, he explains, he tried to protect Nixon from the consequences of his own baser instincts by building a wall around him and ignoring his more culpable orders; thus when a senator made a speech opposing the war in Viet Nam and Nixon commanded him to "Put a 24-hour surveillance on that bastard", Haldeaman didn't do so. Nixon had a terrible temper. On a campaign trip through Iowa, his advance men had thoughtlessly invaded him in long and driving drives between several small towns.

Nixon was riding in an open convertible and Air Force Major Don Hughes, his military aide, was in the back seat. Suddenly, a crowd of people started to kick the back of Hughes' seat with both feet. And he wouldn't stop. Trump Trump! Hughes jolted forward, legs spread as Nixon vented his rage. When the car stopped at a small town in the middle of nowhere, Hughes, who'd been sitting straight ahead, started walking straight ahead, down the road and out of town. He wanted to get as far as he could from Nixon. I believe he would have walked clear across the state if I hadn't set out after him and apologized for Nixon and finally talked him into rejoining us.

As Haldeaman tells the story, this soon became the overriding concern of the President himself. John Dean, the White House lawyer, was

His own biggest mistake, Haldeaman says, was his failure to protect his chief from the attentions of Charles Colson, a White House familiar who encouraged the President's meanderings and acted on them. Although Haldeaman does not directly implicate Nixon in the planning of the Watergate burglary, he does suggest that Nixon let the fuse: he says he believes Nixon and Colson decided to get incriminating material on the Democratic's chairman, Larry O'Brien, and that Colson, who mobilized his band of Cubans, the theory that the break-in was sabotaged by the CIA which had employed several of the burglars in the past and may well have manipulated the word to Howard Hunt, interestingly, Haldeaman endorses the theory that the break-in was a CIA operation. As for the CIA's motive, Haldeaman offers several, ranging from his fear of coming under the President's direct political control—as had already happened to the FBI—to its concern about Nixon's long-standing attempt to discover a connection between CIA's abortive attempt on the life of Fidel Castro and the assassination of John Kennedy. He admits, however, that all this is speculation; indeed, students of the seminar side of contemporary American history will recognize many of the author's "insights" as second-hand.

Haldeaman is on firmer ground in his treatment of the cover-up, having been present at its creation. And so, he repeatedly and flatly asserts, was Nixon. The President, he says, was involved in the cover-up from Day One. First, in order to prevent investigators from connecting him with the break-in through Colson; secondly, to ensure his own reelection by shielding his campaign manager and former attorney general, John Mitchell; and third, to prevent the exposure of some of the White House "plumbers'" own role, was merely one of "con-

As I saw it, we had no intent to impede the Watergate investigation itself—only to avoid the very real possibility that it would lead the investigators into these "other things" which were not a part of the Watergate crime, and thus not a legitimate crime. In retrospect, I must admit that there were many indications that should have made me wonder what was really going on. But at the time I didn't want to know, and I made no effort to find out. I did not consider myself that I had any responsibility to aid in the Watergate investigation. My responsibility was the operation of the office of the President—and the continuation of this particular President in office.

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whom Nixon had discussed paying hush money to the burglars, had gone over to the prosecutors. It became an obsession with Nixon that his own, still-secret tape recordings of these meetings might not be excluded as evidence. That Dean might have smuggled a tape recorder into the Oval Office, thanks to which he would now be supplying the Justice Department with evidence that could lead to the President's impeachment. Next, it occurred to Nixon that his two closest advisers, Haldeaman and Ehrlichman, might be called before the Grand Jury while still in his employ. "By now," he devoted solely to his own survival, and he torn between his conviction that he had to toss his two lieutenants overboard and his knowledge that he needed us as a buffer," Nixon tried to persuade his aides to make the decision for him, and by day and talking to the prosecutors at night. The first thing to do is to get him out of here.

But Nixon didn't agree. "I can't fire Dean. I can't risk his going after the President." Still vacillating, Nixon offered his friends money: "Let me ask you this, to be quite candid, is there any way you can cash?" Ehrlichman, who I looked at each other. Here we were being drummed out of office for supposed banky-panky concerning cash paid to the defendants and now the President was offering us cash. We both said: "I don't think so." But

Did Nixon really save the world from nuclear war during your year in office, by persuading the Russians to abandon their preventive bombing of China's nuclear arsenal? Haldeaman, as Nixon's chief of staff, would not move front and centre if it meant following Walter Reuther's lead. He would have denied the Southerner his special calling of being the nation's dissembler. Some times in ugly ways, sometimes with a heavy soot as securely to be heard, the Southerner has said to the assumption that reunion revelation, has been good even union is worth any price. Even Dr. King. He was unquestionably wrong when he argued in 1965 he held out for slavery; conceivably, that record of an anti-semitic economy that ever crossed his desk. He was once plantation slavery tie denials, perhaps. He was eradicated.

For a man who feels he was betrayed, Haldeaman's book with an odd, generous verdict on Nixon. He believes, he says, he believes that the good in Nixon outweighed the bad, and that Nixon would have managed to control his political enemies had been less down. As it was, he says, the opposition consistently portrayed Nixon as totally flawed, committing him as 100 per cent pure and good: "and that to set him up for a disastrous fall was the fell short—as all humans must." The White House version, says Haldeaman, was opposition had more room for course, in his highly debatable: the Americans, indeed many of Nixon's opponents, continued to view the benefit of the doubt long after his involvement in the cover-up had been proved by the White House tapes.

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Nixon pressed on with the suggestion. "There's a few, not much. As much I think as 200 thousand dollars available in '74 campaign funds already," I said. "That compounds the problem. It really does."

Two days later, the President did the one thing his aides had begged him not to do. He issued a public statement in which he repudiated the dissemblance of Dean with the resignation of Haldeaman and Ehrlichman. Haldeaman has no doubt about Nixon's motive: "He was saving face. I've investigated and found I'm firing them to-

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# The northernizing of a Southerner

By William S. McFeely

**JOHN MILTON COOPER, JR.**  
*Walter Hines Page*  
The Southerner as American 1853-1918  
477pp. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. \$15.95.

Mainstreams have been flowing so mightily in America of late that it is hard to find a Southerner who has broken dams and plunged in. John Milton Cooper's beautifully written biography celebrates an early twentieth-century Southerner, the diplomat, Walter Hines Page. Cooper writes with enthusiasm about Page's role as a pioneer in the efforts that more than a century after the Civil War brought the South "fully back into the mainstream". Indeed, his efforts culminated in the election of a President from the deep within the South: Cooper claims that Page "shed a light that reached a long way down that road that finally united with Jimmy Carter in 1976".

The chief problem with this view of the process of reunification of the United States is that Page, the Atlantic was the publisher of American journals, but Page's task was to make both the magazine and Houghton Mifflin's list appeal to a "middle-class, middle-class elite". In Boston, Page set out to get rid of the colonialism of gentility with the same energetic broom with which he had swept his native South. When one of the Houghton Mifflin editors, Francis Jackson Garrison, the son of the abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison, recoiled from Page's "hugger stories" and said: "Mr Page, we have never used that word in this office," Page rejoined: "Well, it is now." Things were being brought in to date in Boston.

Page had left the South, but his writings gave support to the businesslike leaders who were so threatened by the call for radical change of the protest movement of the farmers, black and white, and their organizations, the Farmers' Alliances and the Populist Party. Page's progressive friends cleaned up Southern politics by disfranchising enough of the dissidents to achieve their ends. Page himself, however, in the South, could avoid a stand in this democratic process and Cooper states: "Where Page stood was hard to tell, most likely because he did not know himself."

Page was not a negrophobe, but his preference was for those black people who followed the deferential non-political, accommodationist policies of Booker T. Washington. When Page entered the firm of Doubleday, Page in 1899, Washington's *Up From Slavery* was one of the most important books that he brought to their lists. The flamboyant Frank Doubleday, whose authors included Kipling and Conrad, dominated the partnership. Page, by bringing out Washington's book, had taken a significant place at the lectern in the time-honoured white Southern tradition of instructing the nation in how to conduct its racial relations.

Cooper makes the interesting observation that Page's temperament as well as his enthusiasm for the Spanish American War and American imperialism generally made him closer to Theodore Roosevelt than to any Democrat. But as progressive as Page was, his nature was not a powerful national political voice until he became a publicist for another, expatriate Southerner, Woodrow Wilson. When Wilson, who had northwesternized himself, became President in 1913, Page might have become Secretary of Agriculture, an appropriately rural and Southern reward for his campaign support and for his useful work on the Country Life Commission. Instead, in the reputation of the cultural commissioner of New England's James Russell Lowell, Page began the career for which he is best known in Britain, Ambassador to the Court of St James.

Page was an early enthusiast for American intervention on England's side in the First World War, and when his own government was still committed to neutrality, he exposed every position of the government to which he was accredited. He even gave comfort to the English in the Tides of War by writing the witty and "savage" reception of extracts from

Page's aversive words—"The new South cannot build up its possible civilization merely by looking back at old times and sipping the wine of tradition that followed them matched both the aspirations of their author and the eagerness of Southerners to close their eyes not only to the ante-bellum myth but also to the realities of racial and economic injustice in order to bring the South along into a progressive nation. Fifteen months after taking Missouri, Page leapt to New York City and the World only to leave, inevitably, two years later when Joseph Pulitzer bought the newspaper. For two more years he edited a weekly back in North Carolina and, upon leaving his wife at home, returned to New York to work on the Brooklyn Union and write for the nation's leading journals, the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Harper's Magazine*, and the *Century*. Bringing his family north, Page became editor of a new magazine, the *Forum*.

In 1905, he moved to Boston and, shortly, to the editorial chair of the *Atlantic* and the editorial board of its august parent, the publishing house of Houghton, Mifflin. Founded thirty-eight years earlier by James Russell Lowell, the *Atlantic* was the voice of the American journals, but Page's task was to make both the magazine and Houghton Mifflin's list appeal to a "middle-class, middle-class elite". In Boston, Page set out to get rid of the colonialism of gentility with the same energetic broom with which he had swept his native South. When one of the Houghton Mifflin editors, Francis Jackson Garrison, the son of the abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison, recoiled from Page's "hugger stories" and said: "Mr Page, we have never used that word in this office," Page rejoined: "Well, it is now." Things were being brought in to date in Boston.

Page had left the South, but his writings gave support to the businesslike leaders who were so threatened by the call for radical change of the protest movement of the farmers, black and white, and their organizations, the Farmers' Alliances and the Populist Party. Page's progressive friends cleaned up Southern politics by disfranchising enough of the dissidents to achieve their ends. Page himself, however, in the South, could avoid a stand in this democratic process and Cooper states: "Where Page stood was hard to tell, most likely because he did not know himself."

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Roger Casement's diary, replete with vivid sexuality that were secretly and disgracefully circulated by the British Government. Page's intense fear of homosexuality allowed him to stay at arm's length from humanitarian efforts to save Casement. Two days before the hanging, Asquith was relieved to learn at a quiet luncheon that there would be no last-minute effort by the popular Irish ambassador to rescue the Irish nationalist. Fifteen months after taking Missouri, Page leapt to New York City and the World only to leave, inevitably, two years later when Joseph Pulitzer bought the newspaper. For two more years he edited a weekly back in North Carolina and, upon leaving his wife at home, returned to New York to work on the Brooklyn Union and write for the nation's leading journals, the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Harper's Magazine*, and the *Century*. Bringing his family north, Page became editor of a new magazine, the *Forum*.

When America entered the war, Page was perceived as one whose voice had been heeded in Washington, but Cooper's careful research shows that Page was not a maker of policy or even an important influence on it. The ambassador wrote long careful letters for Wilson's personal perusal, but neither the President, nor his Secretary of State, nor his private adviser, Colonel Edwin House, took Page's letters into important account. Cooper takes House seriously, and shows how the strange, Texan politeness shouldered Page aside. The hollow, moved, grumpy ambassador was neither powerful enough nor magnetic enough to engage House's full attention.

Just as Page had personified the reunion of South with North, with undoubted enthusiasm, he stood for an Anglo-American war against the Hun. All thought of an earlier George was forgotten in his loyal support of George V's war. The war swept away incidental differences between us as a narrow smooths a field" and, for his support, a generous and grateful England commemorated Page, after his death, with a tablet in Westminster Abbey.

Page had not been totally optimistic about that war, however. In a letter to his son he consistently grasped the ugliness "there are piles of dead men 150 miles in Eastern Germany; 200 miles in Austria. A man's life is not worth a dog's there". His tragic sense of the continuing cost of war—"the men who die become the fathers of no more children"—is diminished by a rich injection of the eugenic component of the progressive mind. He continues: "Chiefly the scrub stock is left to breed. That's to a degree what happened in the Southern States, you know, after the Civil War."

The fear of scrub stock is what

turns one from Page. He had neither the generosity nor the confidence to be at one with ordinary people. He left them behind in the South to become what he thought was truly American—successful and safely insulated from those who were not. If a swim in the mainstream means feeling superior to scrub-stock people then some Southerners won't jump in. Indeed not even Walter Hines Page found all his time in the water to be a delight. It is an interesting paradox that the only years in which he could be said to have been famous were those when he was ambassador. But, repudiated by the least successful and unhappy period of his life. Faced with insults, Page rose above his own boosterism and bore rebukes with grace.

Perhaps he thought he was taking his own advice. In his autobiographical novel *The Southerner* he wrote: "It is just as well to pass deep shadows as fast as you can". Other Southerners have, instead, looked into these shadows with profound intensity and tried to teach their fellow Americans to do so as well. Cooper sees Page as an exemplar of a different Southern tradition—as a "bringer of light" but does concede that Page's "worst failings sprang from trying to pass by dark shadows in his native region, his nation, and his world."

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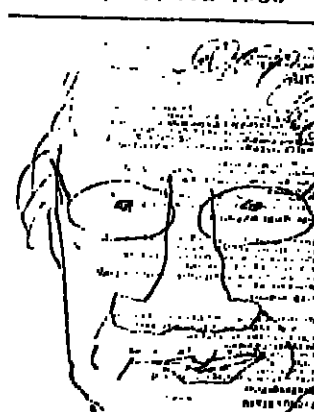
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Applications are invited from suitably qualified men or women for the post of Librarian at one of the Country's leading Agricultural Colleges. Salary AP3/4 £3,234-£4,014 plus Supplement of 5% p.a.  
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